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272 276 behind and beside the kava bowl. The herald does not allot (*vota*) the kava, but the cup bearer decides to whom he will take it. There is no *yalofi;* anyone can sit at the sides. It is allowed to stretch the legs. There is no food offering.

The kava having been pounded beforehand and placed in the bowl, the kava maker tilts the bowl forward saying, "The measure is offered" (*sa sevu tu na i vakarau*).

272 533 276 The herald answers "Knead," using the Tongan word *palu* (in Fijian it would be *lomba*). The kava maker kneads, then strains the kava. When a certain point is reached the leader of the choir (*ndau ni vuthu*) begins to sing in a small, quavering voice; when he has sung two lines another joins him in a lower pitch; at the seventh line the whole choir comes in with a deep drone (*ndrungu*). The kava song (*meke ni yanggona*) was lost with the advent of the Tongans. The Matuku men are noted as singers of the kava song; failing them, the Levuka men sing.

The kava song in use in Lakemba is that known from the first words as *Mothemothe ni mbongi*. It comes from Thakaundrove. I obtained the text in Taveuni. The herald of Namata has published a version (11, p. 191, December, 1913; p. 185, 1894):

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Mothemothe ni mbongi, ma singa othake,	Sleeping at night; the day dawns,
A singa ka sa tangga no i langi.	The sun is on the war path in the sky.
La ki thavu na yanggona me tholati.	They go and pull up the kava to bring it.
Mbiu koto i takari ni vale.	It is set down at the door of the house.
A solo ka sa mothe no i thake.	The strangers are sleeping at the upper end.
Soraki yanggona me na kari,	Offer up the kava that it may be scraped.
Tau ya no i mba ni langakali.	It rests against the branch of *langakali.*[a]
Tanoa au thavuta i langi.	I raise the bowl towards heaven.
Vakarau na yanggona, ma sevuraki,	The kava is prepared and prayed over;
Sevuraki ma kere tumbu i langi	Prayed over, and, bubbles up heavenward.
La ki yana no vunilangi.[b]	Goes and seizes (?reaches) the horizon.
Mothemothe nggai singa na vanua;	Sleeping; then the day comes over the land.
Ma mbuthi i rara na lewe rua,	Call the pair
Me la ki thavu na mba ni kasa vula.	To go and pull up the branch of the white stem.
Ma mbiu koto i ra, nda kauta.	Put it down; let us carry it,
Tau ya no e mata ravi tuka.	It is set down before the door outside;
Au yandrayandra era there tu ya.	I awake; they are standing up.
Ru kathivi Andi yani i kumbuya.	They call mylady at the upper end of the house—
Sa singa rara na vanua.	It is broad daylight.
Me mbasu na waka me tou ngunuva.	Let the root be broken up that we may drink.
Ma lingia a kena wai mbulambula.	Then its living water is poured out;

[a] Na mata: Taveuni: *na ia na na vanua.*
[b] *Takatanggara e na kali; takatanggara = takatatara.*

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Na wai sevu ma kere savuya.

Sa kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.
A yanggona kau a laki thavuta,
Tara tu e ndua na matua.
Laveta onggo ka samu na vanua;

Laki mama na yanggona ravusa.
Wai liwaliwa ko lave tumbu ya,
Lingia i mbati ni tanoa.
Tonitoni ma e ndua na matua,
Ma thavuta thokothoko a vanua.
Na i mbo kau sa vakalutuma
Tiko sombu ru ombota matha.
Yanggona ni sau ka vala ni kua.

Me kua soti na vakasausa.
Thombota, era mundu vakandua.
Lose[1] oti na yanggona ru thombota.

Kena mbilo kau viri ki na longa.
Ra sa solota levu toka
Kothei ndina me na tu yanggona.
Rau nggai mbolea na marama sola:
Andi Ngganuya ma tu yanggona;
Senikumba lave wai ndroka.
Ondru there, ondru there malua
Ondru mai lave ki kumbu kandua

Tiko kina a sau ni vanua.
Matha oti mo ndru tiko malua.

Thombolaki yanggona ni vanua;
Kena i ombo e malausausa,
Vakambiu a mata ni vanua.

The water of the offering bubbles and splashes.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
It is like the dropping of the rain.
The kava I went to pull up
An old man touches.[2]
"I lift it here, and let the land be smitten"[3]
They go on to chew the dry kava.
Lift up the cold water,
Pour it on the side of the bowl.
An old man prays,
He mentions all the lands.
I drop the strainer.
They sit down, they clap gently.
The kava of the High Chief is to be made today;
Let there not be any noise.
They clap and cease together.
When the kava has been strained they clap.

I throw the cup on the mat.
They all dispute (?)
Who indeed shall be cup-bearer.
Then the two foreign ladies volunteer,
Lady Ngganuya is cup-bearer.
Senikumba carries the fresh water.
They rise, they rise slowly,
They raise it towards the other end of the house,
Where sits the Chief of the Land.
When the cup is drained they sit down slowly.
The kava of the land is clapped;
The clapping is loud and fast,
The herald bids them stop.

Each line is repeated once only. In singing this, as in other songs, vowels are supplied to fit the music as *taanoa*, for *tanoa, veanua* for *vanua, ravuosa* for *ravusa; thereatuya* for *theretuya*. This syllable *ya* is constantly added in songs at the end of a line to make it rhyme. In Mbauan style the last two syllables are dropped; in Thakaundrove they are dragged out. The dialect is largely Thakaundrove; some words are in the dialect of the north of Viti Levu. They go far afield for words so that the metre may be correct.

During the singing the herald cleans three cups: two for the chief, one for himself. At line two in the last stanza, he throws forward two cups according to the words of the song. The cup bearer, who has been seated at the rear, here steps into the ring from the right. He is called Tu Yang-

[1] *Namata*, lose; *tarewui* and Levuka, *matha*.

[2] Acknowledges the offering. The following line is the prayer, which in the old days used to contain the wish that the enemy might be destroyed (6, p. 62).

[3] The first prayer is said when the root has been presented; the second, when the water is being poured.

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gona (Sir Kava, or Lord of the Kava). For this purpose, a noble youth, usually a fine young man, is chosen. His body shines with oil; his face is blackened; he is dressed as for a dance with a collar and a skirt of *vau* bark dyed pink and green. He picks up one cup, while another man, who comes up on the left, picks up the other; this is the Tu Wai Ndroka, or Lord of Fresh Water; he is not specially attired. When the cup bearer has picked up the cup, he turns round slowly towards the bowl with legs slightly apart, raising first one foot then the other, with a slight pendulum motion of the whole body in time with the music. He squats down before the bowl with knees well apart, an attitude called *musu*, turning his back on the chief, and holds the cup over the bowl. Someone forms the strainer into the shape of a cup; the kava maker pours kava upon it, which trickles through into the cup. This is done only for the Lord of Naiau. At line eight he rises slowly, holding the cup at arm's length; at the next line he faces the High Chief; at the next he sinks down still holding the cup at arm's length, and as he squats down strikes some attitudes which are called dancing. (The Matuku men are skilled in this dance, but not the Levuka men.) The song then ceases and the assembly calls out, *"Oie ndina, oie tu e"* (Ah! it is true, ah! stand, oh!).

The choir-leader calls out, "Stand forward" (*tu yani ki thake le*).

The cup bearer stands up, lowers his arms, walks up naturally to the Chief and pours the kava into Tui Naiau's own cup, then walks away. Sir Fresh Water, who never attitudinizes, steps up and adds some water. This custom of "fresh water" is only observed for one who has been appointed Sau; if it were done for any other man he would fall ill. As Tui Naiau is about to drink, the choir leader cries out "Oie ndua, sa, oie ndua thombo."[10] Then all the singers clap rythmically together. As Tui Naiau stops drinking the leader cries, "Leave off" (*mbiu*), and the clapping breaks into an irregular straggle and all exclaim.

"Ah! it is empty!" (*a matha!*) an exclamation called *vakamatha*, to say "empty."

The next cup is brought without ceremony to the herald, and to the others in order of their precedence. The last survivor of the oldest generation drinks next because he is "the nobles' little father"; then comes the survivor of the next generation. After him the order will be uncertain. If the present High Chief's eldest sister's son were present he would drink next to Tui Naiau, that is, after the herald, because he is a nobleman of Mbau.

Only one round of kava is served.

[10] *Ndua* is a ceremonial word which occurs in the *tama* and other formulae, *ndua* probably being a contraction of *ndua o—Sa ?—thombo*: to clap.

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they wanted another, but Tumbou could not stand the strain; the Tui Tumbou confessed himself beaten, and presented an entreaty gift to the Roko Sau in order that it might not be held again.

At ceremonial exchanges in connection with weddings and births one side brings stuff to the other's quarters; the other side brings theirs to the house of the first, and so they go backwards and forwards several times. This is called carrying to and fro (*vcikauyaki*).

There is a variety of ceremonial exchange called *veisa*, or pairing off; the two parties sit facing one another, and each man exchanges with his opposite. It is an exchange by payment (*solevu saumi*); there is no fixed price, but they try to surpass one another (*veisisivi*); if one gives little he gets a bad reputation.

Tongan Style

After Tongans came the potlatches were in Tongan style. On one occasion the visitors took their bark cloth, kava, and so forth into the house and presented it to the High Chief, saying, "I have come; there is nothing we could find." In Tongan style they speak briefly; not as in Fiji, where they present whale's teeth, and speak at length, then present kava, and so on. They brought little; had they brought much every one would have got some, but only Levuka and Tumbou proper got any, and so made gifts (*vala i yau*) in return; the people who get nothing are not obliged to give anything.

For the send-off the Tongans sat down on the plinth of Malani's house, facing the Green. Two upright sticks were set up before the house, and between these were piled mats. The Tui Tumbou and the Chief of Nasangalau sat facing the Tongans. The Tui Tumbou stood and explained to them that the Lakembans were poor. He made a simple speech. When he had finished a Tongan rushed down the steps and made a vehement speech in Tongan. Then followed a small dance by Nasangalau and Vakano. The High Chief took no part, but sat aloof on the plinth of the house.

Song and Dance

Tongan Dances

Apart from singing there is no poetry, and no singing (except church singing) apart from dancing. The word *meke* covers all; the words are the "fragments" or "sentences" of the dance (*mala ni meke*); the music is fall of the dance (*i mbalembale*); the gestures are "the face." The composition of the dance is called teaching.

There are no Lauan dances; the Lauans are masters of dancing, but

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The Tonga dances performed in Tumbou owe much of their splendor to Ratu Finau, who added all kinds of features, some borrowed from Fijian dancing; thus he armed one of the men's groups with fans, a Fijian way of dancing. He also caused the groups to come in from different quarters; the fan dancers on one occasion he marched backwards and forwards towards the Green, raising their fans aloft, then lowering to keep time to a rhythmic chant, *"To alewa, tangane, veitho, veitho, veitho, veitho."* In English, "Women's side, men's side, intermingle." This is a chant that comes from Namara and Namata in Viti Levu, where the explanation will be found. Every now and then they shouted something about *rara* and ended with high pitched shout. The other men were marched in in military style by an ex-constable. So successful were Ratu Finau's innovations that a Moturiki man concluded he must be inspired by the "Children of Water," spirits that teach dances.

The dancers take up their positions. The policemen of the dance stand at attention at the back. It is their duty to walk through the ranks and get them back into the line when they become disordered.

The male dancers stand at ease with hands clasped; the women rest their hands on their stomachs. One man, chosen on account of his good voice, begins the singing (*langa*). (What constitutes a good voice I could not make out.) The first part, which is the melody, follows, then the second part joins in as a drone; a few notes before the end of the first part ceases, the drone breaks out into a melody which ends abruptly. Then the first part begins again and so on. At rehearsals they have choir leaders who stand in the middle of the dance but only sing. This is a custom of Tonga, where a leader is employed also at full dress dances. When the singing starts the performers begin a rhythmic tread by raising one foot, touching the ground with the toes, then putting the foot down, and repeating the movement with the other foot. As they bring each foot down they clap with the hands crossed, the right and the left being alternately uppermost. This clapping is kept up throughout the introduction, then they suddenly break into dancing. The movements of the women are confined almost entirely to the arms, the body following the movements and the feet keeping up the tread of the introduction; they pass their hands down the breasts, or pass one hand along the other arm; one movement is illustrated by Krämer (9, vol. 2, fig. 127). Sometimes they turn and face each other in pairs; if they sing of shaking hands, they shake hands.

The men put more movement into their parts; not only do they wave their arms about more, but they occasionally jump, and change places as in a quadrille; go down on one knee; place their hands on their haunches and sway the body; clap hands behind the back, and other movements. In one dance representing the Boer War, all the men fell down, each with his head

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resting on the man behind him, while the women left turned to face them and pillowed their faces on their joined hands. There were Fijian movements in these dances; but Fijian movements have been introduced into Tonga.

The fan dance is not Tongan. The fan is shaped like an ace of hearts and is made of fan palm leaf. The figures danced to the *lakalaka* beginning *"Suka koe"* were as follows:

(1) During the introduction of dancers trod, as described above, and struck the fan twice on the left palm. At the word "Suka" they stamped with the left foot forward and beat their fans at the same time, then immediately stamped with the right foot behind, bending the right leg and dropping the right hand;

(2) The dancers jumped slightly forward with the left foot foremost, and jumping back, knelt with the right knee almost touching the ground, and at the same time raised the fan to the height of the shoulder and gave a twist of the wrist. This second figure is called a break (*mutu*).

(3) They stood up and marched forward holding the fan aloft and raising and depressing it with a twist at each step;

(4) Left turn and another break;

(5) The dancers stood up, pointed the fan forward, holding the lower edge with the left hand, and thrust it forward several times, while marking time with the feet;

(6) Left turn and walking back to the original position. (There were further figures the exact order of which I do not recollect.)

(7) The performers held their fans flat on a level with the face, seizing the point with the left hand, moved the hands alternately backwards and forwards while marking time with the feet.

(8) They seized the handle of the fan with both hands and pointed it upwards, turned the body slightly to the left, raised the left foot slightly, inclined the body backwards a little, and pulled the fan towards them; this was repeated on the right.

The whole is repeated again with the second stanza. All these movements are marked by a jerkiness characteristic of Fijian dancing. Each *lakalaka* is short and is repeated several times in succession; then after a pause another begins. A dance consists of several *lakalaka*. The words are always Tongan and come from Tonga; often cut short to fit the notes, they are not easily understood. Some of the subjects are: victory of one village over another in examinations; obedience to chiefs; the great festival of putting off mourning for the late Lord of Naiau; the trees of Lakemba; taking tribute to Mbau. The singers shout and when they are out of breath, which is often, take breath for a note or two and join in again.

The common people sit all round the Green at a distance from the nobles and elders. The spectators encourage the dancers with, *"Malie, maile,"* which is Tongan for good. Humorous remarks are shouted. Sometimes a spectator will go up to a dancer, usually of the opposite sex, and tie an expensive silk handkerchief round the neck or wrist. The dancers visibly warm up in response to these encouragements. Ample gestures are considered good dancing; it is considered a defect to "try and adorn one's

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CLUB DANCE

The club dance is Fijian. The choir (*lua*) consists of men and women armed with bamboos. The girls are often powdered over the hair and shoulders with turmeric. The choir comes first into the green and sits down huddled together facing the center of the circle. The leader begins in a falsetto, followed by the first part, then by the drone. Time is marked by thumping on the ground, the bamboos of various lengths emitting various tones. The chant is monotonous and has not the artistic quality of Tongan singing; but is confined to two, perhaps three notes, and ends on the higher pitch; the last syllable is drawn out, then cut short suddenly as if the singers had no breath left. During the singing the dancers appear at the end of the Green; they are naked to the waist and wear skirts of pleated fau strips dyed pink and dark green. The general color scheme is much more somber than that of the Tongans. The dancers have leaves tucked in their armlets, and frequently have a circular boar's tusk hung on the neck. Those who are not dignitaries of the church have their faces blackened with a kind of earth found in Nasangalau which looks like black lead. In olden times wigs were worn by bald people. They carry, with both hands on the right shoulder, clubs of the musket pattern; a few have axes. As the dancers stand one foot foremost, they raise and depress their elbows in time to the music and swing the body backwards and forwards; they do not sing. Presently they advance, then stop, rush forward with short steps, holding their clubs horizontally over the head as if making an onslaught. Thus by degrees they make their way into the middle of the Green where, after a short pause, they begin the dance. Their movements are violent and suggestive of fighting; sometimes they split up into various companies that separate and, after a few revolutions, rush together again. The movements include:

(1) a break (*musu*) in which they half squat down and all but kneel on one knee, then the other, with their hands between their thighs and the club inclined slightly forward;

(2) right or left turn (*ruki*);

(3) standing with one foot foremost with the hands on a level with the waist, and the club inclined fowards, they stamp with the foremost foot and at the same time pull the club towards them and downwards with a slight jerk;

(4) Raising the club from the shoulder, they give it a downward sweep as if to hit something on the ground;

(5) Grasping the head of the club with the left hand, they place the butt on the ground; they extend the right arm forward, with the hand on a level with the shoulder, palm down; then sway the body slightly backwards and forwards at the same time straightening out the arm and bending it slightly;

(6) Sometimes they lay the club down on the ground and perform various movements then pick it up again; one of these movements consists in putting one foot foremost, bending the knees, holding the arms continuous with the shoulders and the fore-

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arms bent forwards and upwards, then moving the body backwards and forwards while extending and bending the arms;

(7) In one dance in which they sang of hoisting the flag they went down on one knee and made gestures as if hoisting a flag;

(8) A common finish consists in going down on one knee facing the chief, with the club in one hand, extending the arms in the shape of a cross. There is always a noble youth among the dancers, he may be quite a boy, who shouts orders such as, "Break, turn." When the dance is over they all sit down, clap irregularly, then get up and go.

The technique of the poems is the same as for the sitting dance. The subject of one club dance was the Russo-Japanese war.

SITTING DANCE

At one time sitting dances were conducted only indoors, then two Tongans, Sunia and Toarau, from Rewa, went to Malolo, an island off the west coast of Viti Levu, where there was dancing all night out of doors; so the Tongans gave a sitting dance called the *vakamalolo*.

Now, however, the *vakamalolo* is usually performed indoors at night, occasionally on the Green. This dance has spread from Viti Levu to Vanua Mbalavu, to the Moala Islands and to Komo, which is connected with Kandavu. It is more popular with the young men of Levuka than with the Tumbou people. The Naiau people had a reputation for sitting dances. Three typical movements of the *vakamalolo* are shown by Krämer (9, vol. 2, figs. 127-9). As usual, the dance begins with an introduction during which the dancers sit with clasped hands. The man in the middle entones, closely followed by another man next to him, or near him, then the rest join in with a drone. Generally they are accompanied by a wooden drum which consists of a canoe shaped log with an oblong hollow in the middle about two inches long; an ordinary log may be used, or even a mat. The dancers are bare to the waist and wear leaves tied round their arms.

SNAKE DANCE

The snake dance is not Lakemban. I have heard of it being performed in Totoya at an official ceremony, and it is also known in Mualevu. I have seen it performed only by boys, one of whom had learned it from Kandavu, another from Naiau.

The choir sing over and over again in a monotone, rising one tone on the last syllable of each line:

Ndolo a ngata ni Mbalembale	The snake of Mbalembale is creeping.
Raviti tinamu tavalandelande.	Cuddle up to your mother, fractious child.

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The rhythm is:

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —

While they sing, the dancers come in a long file, each holding the one in front by the waist and bending down; the foremost one holds his arms as if in the act of diving. They wind about for some time. Then the keeper of the snake comes in and beats the ground, whereat the snake falls down and the owner of the snake comes in, trying to look as absurd as possible: he is rubbed all over with sand and walks with legs akimbo. Sometimes there is a second owner. The owner comes up to the snake and kicks it saying, "Snake!" Then he inquires,

"Who has killed my snake?"

"I," says the keeper.

"Why have you killed my snake?"

"Because it damages the things planted in the middle of the village."

"What will you pay for my snake?"

"What about a pig in exchange?"

"What's the use of a pig in exchange for a long animal like this?"

"What about a brindled water-snake (*ndandakulathi*)?"

"Make one that I may see." Then the keeper hits the snake which comes to life and is called a brindled snake. It winds round the choir which sings:

Ndandakulathi e mbula koto	The brindled snake is alive,
E mbula koto e ruku ni vatu.	It is alive under the stone.

In Nakorosule, in the hills of Viti Levu, I was told that the dance was allegorical (*vaka i mbalembale*): the snake is the penis; "mother" stands for a girl towards which it straightway leaps.

COMIC DANCES

The *kuma* is called a dance, but it is really grimacing. The varieties include: the monkey skit, the Waitoa skit, the goat, the fowl, the mango stealing.

In the fowl skit the performer stands and chants slowly: *Kuma, kuma, ni toa, nda laki tatala a toa sirivisa vei a toa, ari kuma.* He then makes a noise by sucking in the lips several times trying to look funny and ends by crowing like a cock. The origin of the Kuma, as told by a boy, is as follows:

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First fruits are offered for yams, taro, and ripe plantains; not manioc nor sweet yams because they are despised food. It was considered low to eat before the first fruits had been taken to the Lord of Naiau. They are offered up in the usual way.

NAVIGATION

Large canoes were in olden times housed in sheds on the shore. In dragging them to the water the "chant of the canoe" (*tama ni wangga*) was sung to keep time, the man who entoned standing between the hull and the float and patting the sides of the hull singing:

Eie eie
A mbimbi a vesi; The Greenheart is heavy;
A wangga tambu ka thoka e. The sacred canoe is being launched.
A i tipi ni koli i. The dog's penis.

On the last syllable all pull.

The triangular sail consists of strips of specially made matting sewn together. It is tied between two long poles, the gaff and the boom; their meeting point, the tack, being called "the foot of the sail." The sail is hoisted by a halyard passing over the fork of the masthead, the halyard attached to the outrigger boom. The tack is placed against the ridge provided for it on the forward deck, the weight of the sail and the pressure of the wind helping to keep it in place. One halyard, the *save*, is attached to the boom. The one with which the sail is hoisted is called *i vakarewa*. (See Pl. III, *C*.)

Williams describes the manner of sailing (18, p. 85):

> I did not sail in a canoe. The canoe always sails with the outrigger to the wind; that side is spoken of as "above"; to leeward is "below." To tack, the canoe is turned around and the sail is pulled up and moved to the other end; hence tacking is described as pulling up (*thavu*).

The steering is done with a big steer oar tied between the hull and the float; it is moved from one end to the other in tacking. To put down the helm is *uli*, which is the general term for steering; to put it up, *tau*.

The points of the compass do not appear to be well defined. The south-east and thereabouts is called *theva;* it is the quarter from which the trade wind blows. North is now designated by *tokalau*, but this term is said to have extended formerly from north to east. Below, or to leeward is *ra*, a general term for west to north, as opposed to windward, above. Between *theva* and *ra* is *theva-ra*, the term said by some to extend between Naiau and Moala or between northwest and southwest. I have never heard it used of anything as far north as the northwest, for which quarter they

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use *vualiku*. An easterly wind is described as "wind from the sun" (*thangi a singa*) and anything to the east is "in the face of the sun" (*mai mata ni singa*).

Stars and Weather

The Tongans and the Levukans used to be Tui Naiau's navigators (*ndau soko*). They sailed by the stars, yet I could get very little information about them from one of the best informed of the Levukans and from one of the most talkative. Both informants say the stars had no names; sailors merely knew the places over which they stood. The only ones that had names are: Vola Singa, Mark of Day, probably Venus; Vola Mbongi, Mark of Night, in the middle of the night (the informants first said it was Jupiter then Saturn), sets over Nairai; Kalokalo Ndromu, Setting Star, a reddish planet which leads to Koro (this may have been a name for all planets); Iri Mbuli, Fan, the belt and sword of Orion, the sword being the handle. Taisoso, Bunch, the triangle of Taurus; Matandravu ni Sautu, Hearth of Plenty, and Matandravu ni Ndausinga, Hearth of Famine, are the Clouds of Magellan which are also known by their Tongan names Maafu Lele and Maafu Toka: Nga, Duck, is the Southern Cross, the pointers are a man preparing to throw a stone at it; Kato ni Mbulasi, Remnants Basket, a group off stars close to Orion's Belt in a line with it on the side opposite the sword; I do not know which group.

The spots in the moon are believed to be Tukai, Granddad, who is plaiting coir rope; and Mbui, Granny who is cooking their food.

Of old sailing was done at that time of the year when navigation was safe; during the hurricane months the canoes were beached. December and January are hurricane months; February rarely so; March is the worst so one man calls it the "month of spirits" because the waves and the winds devour men. A squall is called "the edge of the black cloud." If the wind shifts from the southeast to west or southwest by the north it will not remain long in that quarter, but will jump back suddenly to southeast. When becalmed the natives sing out.

> Quick, quick, quick; come quick, come quick;
> Come on board, on board on the outrigger side;
> It has come aboard, but it is little:
> Quick, quick, etc."

Canoes had pennants hoisted on the mast They were made of bark cloth, or of long and narrow matting. Two specimens of matting from Ongea now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum measure 1½ fathoms long and 2 inches broad; these are for small craft; for big craft they attained to 5

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*'kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sevusevu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava: when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i vbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo vinggai*).

'1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

534 Of old everyone knew if a boy was born because the ladies sang a song
533 called *thongge* (*thongge* is a bird that sits on a stone and cries *u, u*).

[539]

Ko thongge ni sa roafoa[18]	*Thongge* when it is morning flies
E vuka mai ka mai toka	hither and perches; its voice
Mai tekuru toka a ndomoi.a,	cooes, then drops and hums
Ka lutu ka ndengu: "*mm*" ;	"Mm," and the *thongge* laughs:
Ka ndrendre a thongge: 'e i ai i'.	"*E i ai i.*"

There is no song for a girl. Nowadays there is no joking (*vakatasuasua*) at birth.

846 Both the mother and the child are rubbed with oil and turmeric powder that "the milk may smell it and be plentiful." Oiling the mother is no longer practiced, and so *kulakula*, a disease in which the skin turns red, is common. Candlenut is pressed on the child's lips to make it vomit, that the evil thing may come out which was in its inside when it was born,
853 that it may be clean. It is fed with coconut juice: the coconut is baked, chewed, and the juice spat on to a clean piece of bark cloth and given to the child to suck. If the child wants to vomit they rub its lips with a China banana to make it vomit outright. When the mother has milk they set aside the coconut.

846 When the news is known ladies come in numbers to stay with the mother ten to twenty nights. This assembly is called *songone*. The father has to provide food for them daily.

At some time, it is not clear when, the father comes to kiss his child and rejoice over it. If the mother be a lady, bark cloth and as much as twenty or thirty mats are brought for her to lie upon. Of the two sides, father's and mother's, one provides the couch for the mother, the other for the child. On the day of the birth (occasionally a day or two after) both sides provide a big feast which is taken to the house where the mother is lying in. The assembly of women has the disposal of the feast. The father also makes a raw feast called *mba*, taro stems. Formerly they carried the baskets slung on muskets; nowadays on spades; these are called "the carrying sticks of the taro stems" and were given with the taro to the mother's side.

After four nights the women go to fish "to make free the nursing mother." Until that time all food from the sea is forbidden (p. 163). A big feast is then prepared called *isilisili ndrawu*, which means "to wash away the ashes," or to "wash in ashes." The two sides hold a potlatch in which each side takes its gifts to the house of the other. This is called "dragging backwards and forwards" (*veiyarayaki*). Whatever the number of gifts brought from one side, the other will bring an equal amount.

[18] The word *roafoa* is not Lauan.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

follows: the high chief, the high chief's herald, the oldest man, the chief of Kambara, the envoy to Lakemba, and so forth.

After the first round of kava, when all the members of the kava circle have drunk, the cup bearer returns to his seat behind the kava bowl, and claps two or three times. The herald decides when the second round shall be served. He says, "Fakatau" (Wring it out), and the ceremony is repeated.

All kava which has been prepared must be drunk. When the last bowl has been drunk the kava maker coils the strainer and claps on it three times. The members of the kava circle say, "Malo a vala yanggona" or "Vinaka a vala yanggona" (The kava is well made). The men sitting behind the bowl come and take it out. Then people in the kava circle may leave.

On Namuka kava songs (*meke ni yanggona*) are frequently sung during the kava ceremony. I was welcomed to the island by a kava ceremony. A cup bearer, dressed in ceremonial attire, served the kava. After the first cup had been filled at the kava bowl, he began a series of jerky movements, a sort of dance in time with the kava song which was being sung, and slowly arose facing me. He then walked to me and served me.

The kava song follows:

Mothemothe ni mbongi ka singa vaka,	Sleep at night till daylight,
Singa ka sa tangga nai langi,	The sun is up in the sky,
Laki thavu mai na yanggona me na kari,	Kava root is dug and scraped,
Ra tau ya no i mba ni langakali,	To be laid on the *langakali* branch,
Tanoa ka layeta i thake,	The bowl is lifted high,
Vakarau na yanggona sevuraki,	Prepare the kava to be refined,
Sevuraki ka kere tu i langi,	The sound reaches the sky,
Langi a nonova,	The heavens are watching,
Mothemothe nggai singa a vanua.	Sleep till daylight.
Kathivi andi ka laki kumbunya,	Call the lady who has gone to the other side,
Sa singa rarama na vanua.	For it is now daylight.
Mbasu na waka me tou nggunuva,	Break the kava root and let us drink here,
Livi na kena wai mbulambula,	The water poured in is quite clear,
Wai sevu ma kere savuya,	I can hear the sound of it again,
Kena kambisa koto ma na utha.	Like the falling of gentle rain.

In southern Lau the kava *meke* is found only on Namuka but *meke* are often danced between rounds of kava.

A Tongan custom occasionally observed in Lau is the *wase ni yanggona* (kava feast). While the chief is drinking, a feast is prepared for him, usually by his younger brothers and parallel cousins. The food is served during the kava ceremony to the kava circle. When the food is ready the herald chooses two men from the circle to divide the feast. The young men sitting behind the bowl carry in the shares. The best share is given to the chief, the next to the herald, and so on according to the drinking order. The feast is eaten in the kava circle and the remaining food removed. Those sitting behind the bowl go outside to eat.

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their gardens and after two days, returned with some of the Komo people to Maunaithake. When they arrived the *vetkendavaki* ceremony was held in the house of the *mbuli* Fulanga (headman of Fulanga district). First a ceremonial presentation was held; kava was presented by Komo and accepted by Muanaithake. The Komo men said they wanted to make a little *solevu* and they discussed the plans. A Komo man was sent to tell the rest of the Komo people to come with their property to the village, while the *mbuli* Fulanga prepared two guest houses (*i thili*), one for the Komo men and one for the Komo women. A small feast (*i takitaki*) was presented by the chief of the ceremonial ground to the Komo men in the guest house. The men ate first, then the women and children. The chief of Komo and the chief of Fulanga discussed the *solevu* in the chief of Fulanga's house and then decided to begin the ceremonies on the following day. That night the Komo men and the Muanaithake girls gathered in the men's guest house and the Komo girls and Muanaithake men gathered in the women's guest house for kava drinking and a *meke* (dance).

Early the next morning the chief of the ceremonial ground of Fulanga took a banana shoot (*vu ni vuntchi*) to the men's guest house, stood outside the door, gave the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief of Komo, and thrust the banana shoot through the door. The chief of Komo, inside the house, unfolded the shoot. (Informants say that the shoot, just beginning to unfold, symbolizes the awakening of the people.) The chief of the ceremonial ground entered the house and put down the stem. He was followed by young men of Fulanga carrying a feast (*i vaka vandra*, to awaken), which was presented to the Komo people and eaten by them.

The Komo people took the property brought for the *solevu* from the guest houses to the village ceremonial ground. This was called *i siko Tui Fulanga*. First many manioc roots in baskets were placed in a pile. On top of the pile were placed many breadfruit and over all was spread Tongan tapa. The people seated themselves on the ceremonial ground in two semicircles facing each other, the pile of property between them. The chief of Komo knelt in front of the Komo group. The chief of Fulanga sat on a coconut-leaf mat with the chief of crops, *tui naro*, and the *mbuli*. Then the ceremony called *vakathombo Komo* was held. The chief of Komo presented a whale's tooth to the *mbuli* Fulanga according to the usual ceremonial pattern. The *mbuli* Fulanga held the whale's tooth, saying, "Ndou a mbula tchiko manda nga na, tui Komo" (May you remain in good health, chief of Komo). He gave the whale's tooth to the chief of the ceremonial ground, who then presented a bunch of ripe coconuts (*i vono*) to the chief of Komo, according to the usual pattern. This ceremony is called *vatonakina*. Then the Komo girls danced a *vukamalolo meke*, called *meke ni vakathombo*. The Komo people returned to the guest houses and were given a feast, called *mangitchi a vua viri* by the Muanaithake people. That night a *meke* was held. While the Komo people were on Fulanga the Muanaithake people prepared a small feast each morning and a large feast each afternoon for them.

On the afternoon of the fourth day the *vakathombo Muanaithake* was held. A feast called *mangitchi ni vakathombo* was presented to the Komo people. It was not eaten until after the presentation of property. The Muanaithake men carried their property to the ceremonial ground and piled it as follows: first about 15 wooden bowls and fish plates, and several headrests, then pandanus, and finally a score of rolled mats. Many chickens with legs tied were placed in front of the pile. The *mbuli* Fulanga stood (he did not kneel because he was the host) beside the pile and presented a whale's tooth to the chief of Komo. This ended the *solevu* ceremonies.

The Fulanga people won the competitive exchange because the property they presented was considered of greater value than that of Komo.

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Meke

A *meke* is a rhythmic chant accompanied by dancing or gestures and by drum beating. *Meke* are performed on ceremonial occasions such as large

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feasts connected with marriage, death, and ceremonial exchanges, the visit of a chief, a government official, or a canoe from another island. War dances and kava *meke* are performed by able-bodied men of the community, from 15 to 50 years old. Dances such as the sitting dance (*vakamalolo*) and fan dance (*meke iri*) are performed by women. At small gatherings only the young, unmarried girls, who are not pregnant and have no children, dance, but at intervillage exchanges all the women up to about 40, who are not pregnant, take part.

Old people and children form the chorus. They sit in a close group on one side of the dancers and reinforce the chanting, occasionally clap the rhythm with their hands, and beat the drums. At large gatherings several drums are beaten, at small ones only one. The usual dance drum (*lali ni meke*) is a solid, canoe-shaped block of greenheart with a small rectangular concavity in the body. A youth sits with the dance drum clasped with both arms and presses the cavity against his chest which acts as a sounding board. He breathes in and out with the rhythm while another youth sits in front of him and beats the drum with two small sticks. Sometimes the dance drum is beaten while it lies on the ground, cavity downward, but natives say the tone thus produced is flat. *Meke* are occasionally accompanied by the bamboo drum (*nduvu*), a hollow section of bamboo about 14 cm. in diameter and 60 cm. long. The seated drummer holds it upright before him with both hands and drops it to the ground rhythmically. Bamboo drums are scarce in Lau where large bamboo does not grow. They are imported from Viti Levu.

The leader of the dance usually begins intoning in a loud, shrill voice. Almost immediately the group movements and the accompanying beat of the drum begin, but occasionally the drums precede the leader. After the introductory phrase the chorus joins in the chant until the end of the strophe. After a short pause the second strophe is begun in the same fashion. The whole *meke* is repeated many times.

Chanting is very shrill and loud, and resembles yelling rather than singing. A scale of several intervals is used. A limited number of movements, which interpret the words or emotions of the dance, are repeated over and over in the *meke*. Every part of the body, including the eyelids, eyes, fingers, and feet, are active. However, the gestures alone do not make clear the meaning of the *meke*, even to a native observer. A few simple gestures like the moving of wings or the paddling of oars are stylized.

Meke performances last for hours, often throughout the night, and as they progress the performers and spectators grow more and more excited. The chanting, drumming, and clapping become louder, and the body movements more intense. The war dances, which formerly served to excite the warriors to a frenzy, now serve as emotional release. The natives say that most of the *meke* have an erotic appeal.

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New *meke* are taught by the master dancer who is often the composer. Old *meke* are learned by imitation. There is no master dancer on Kambara. The newest forms on Kambara were learned from a man of Vungalei, Tailevu, who visited the island several years ago. Southern Lau is not a center of new dance forms. New forms are sometimes imported into southern Lau from Matuku, Taveuni, Kandavu, and Lakemba.

Meke learning provides entertainment for the whole village. Two or three months before an important event, such as the arrival of a chief, *meke* are practiced on the ceremonial ground almost every afternoon and, if the moon is bright, in the evening. The dance is repeated innumerable times until each individual has mastered every detail. The rehearsal is a social event attended by all women and children of the village. Girls and young women dance while older women watch and applaud. In Nggalinggali a rehearsal was interrupted by a middle-aged woman named Koro, who did a parody on the *meke* to the delight of the other women who laughed hilariously at her antics.

Old *meke* found in southern Lau are the war dance (*meke ni vulu*), the sitting dance, and the fan dance, and on Namuka the kava dance (*meke ni yanggona*). These types are definitely Fijian. The old *meke* are composed in the *lave ni wai* idiom (p. 118) and their meaning is not clear to present-day natives.

WAR DANCES

There are two types of war dances (*meke ni vulu*): the club dance (*meke ni malungu*) and the spear dance (*meke ni wesi*). They are distinguished by vigorous warlike movements and facial expressions. The dancers carry clubs or spears which they flourish menacingly, dancing and chanting at the same time. Around their waists they wear barkcloth and dance skirts made of strips of hibiscus bark dyed black, and around their necks wreaths. Their bodies are oiled and their faces blackened. The dance is accompanied by the *meke* drum.

A war dance recorded on Kambara follows:

Na wesi	Spear dance
Ko ra kala-iya-vongei,	Oh, sir rat,
Ka ulua na sivaro	Stir the pudding
Ma sa nggai koto ra vuaka.	Sir pig is down.
Iri mbula, ra mbula,	Fan of life, sir life,
Iri mate, ra mate.	Fan of death, sir death.
Iri vakasanggalenggalo	The sinking fan
A iri mbula, ra mbula,	Oh, fan of life, sir life,
A iri mate, ra mate.	Oh, fan of death, sir death.

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Gifts of tapa and mats were brought by all the people on the island. The herald received them and wrapped the chief's body in them. The district headman of Kambara was in charge of the funeral. (Before British annexation, the chief of Tokalau, Matandravu subclan, Vuanitavola, was in charge.) The pall bearers belonged to the chief's clan and that of his herald.

The chief was buried in the village cemetery at Tokalau. A large, old whale's tooth was placed in the grave as a head rest. The grave was marked by a truncated pyramid earth mound with two stone-faced steps and a rectangular ground plan (pl. 1, *B*). Ten conch shells, blown between the death and burial, were placed on it. The village headman was in charge of the burial feast (*i mburua ni mate*), which was provided by the people of the whole island and divided by the chief of crops.

Informants said that the widow of the chief of Kambara was not strangled and that they had never heard of widow strangling in Lau.

The funeral rites for the chief of Fulanga are less elaborate than those for the chief of Kambara, who ranks far higher as an island chief. The following account of the death of Waisake, the former chief of Fulanga, was obtained from Kalo, the wife of the present chief.

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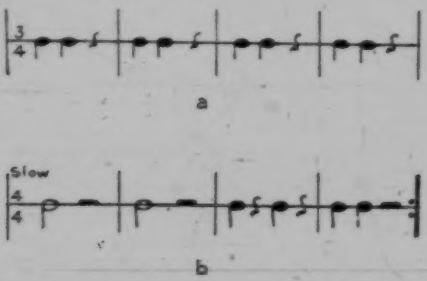

FIGURE 4.—Drum beats: a, beat to raise the death tabu, drummed on a tapa board; b, beat of the funeral march, drummed on pairs of large wooden slit-gongs.

When Waisake died no conch shells were blown, but the relatives of the deceased wailed: "Oi lei nonggou turanga ko sa mbui ti au! Sa lako e na sala ka senga ni lesu tale mai!" (Alas, my chief! He has gone along the path and will never return!) Kava was provided by the chief's clan (now split into Vunikoro and Rasea) and served by middle-aged people in Tongan fashion for three or four days and nights. The *tonitoni*, composed of women from the village of Muanaithake, occupied the chief's house (*vale ni tangi*, house of wailing) and two or three other houses for ten nights. During this time they were fed by the chief's clan. Laughing and dancing in this house was tabu before dawn on the fourth day, when the sound of the *vakataratara*, beaten by many women of the village on a tapa board, lifted the tabu on silence in the usual way. The rhythm of the *vakataratara* is shown in figure 4, *a*.

The body was buried on the day of death. It was wrapped in mats and carried to the cemetery by men of Nasava and Vandravandra clans, who also dug the grave. The death feasts, provided by all the villages on the island were as follows: *i va kotokoto* for the mourners on the day of burial; *i mburua* for the island on the day after the burial; *vakataratara* for the mourners on the fourth day after the death when the tabu was lifted and the *tonitoni* went fishing; *i vaka mbongi tchini* for the island on the tenth day; and *i vaka mbongi ndrau* for the village on the hundredth day.

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and Tokalau where a man named Velana was killed. In the village of Tokalau four stones, forming a rectangle, mark the spot where a man dropped dead. A pile of stones at Toka, Fulanga, also mark a burial place. 764

Formerly, members of the deceased's clan would chop off their little fingers with an adz.

WARFARE

The war complex in Lau was closely allied with the ancestor cult and the concept of rank based on mana. Informants agree that warfare and fortified villages were introduced into Lau by the immigrants who formed the chiefs' phratry. It is said that before the migration from Viti Levu, the land people lived peacefully together in scattered hamlets. A state of tension grew out of the keen interclan and intervillage rivalry for prestige, enhanced by the desire for power on the part of the warriors of the ranking noble clans. 726

Warfare in Lau usually took the form of raids between villages led by rival war leaders of the chief group. Rivalry often centered around the desire for women. The attacking party would capture a high ranking woman, perhaps the wife of a chief from another village, and the affront would be met by a counter attack. [721]

Tales of warfare are full of treachery. The object was to outwit the opponent and save one's own skin. To risk one's life was considered stupid. Attacks were usually launched only by forces superior in strength to those of the defendants. Otherwise an attempt was made to lure the leaders into ambush and to attack them singly or in groups.

Great care was taken to insure the success of a raid. The attacking party secured the assistance of relatives. If they planned to attack a village on another island, the warriors used a related village on that island as their landing place, base of supplies, and ally. The priest retired to the temple and propitiated the war god (*kalou ni valu*). He made an offering of kava to the god and he prayed to the god until he was possessed. He then took the ceremonial club of the clan and stood it up on the handle in the center of the god house. If the club stood up unsupported he knew that the god had entered the weapons of the warriors and the raid would be successful. If it fell down, the raid would not be successful, and the expedition was abandoned. [787]

Four days before the attack the warriors held a meeting in the village, and the war gong (*lali ni valu*) was sounded. It consisted of a hollow log of *tavola (Terminalia catappa)* or *mbuambua (Guettarda speciosa)* wood about 1.5 meters long. Two men, each with two sticks, stood on opposite sides of the gong and beat in unison. The first drummer was called *tau*, the second *vakataungande*. The complicated, rhythmic war beat was called *nduki tu a lali ni mbakola*. During the four days before the raid the men prepared their weapons. Sexual intercourse and the stealing of property were forbidden [533 534] 726 834

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of large white cowry shells, was brought into the ring. Two or three handsome young men, of magnificent physique—"the *Yaqona* mixers"—then gathered round this, and the ceremony started. A fathom of cowry-strung sinnet hanging over from one portion of the rim was carefully set out so as to point directly at us; and then started the rhythmical pounding in a hollow wooden cylinder of chopped off sections of the root. (The drink was formerly made in Tonga by adding water to chewed contributions from each member of the party, and the Tongans introduced the practice into Lau and thence to Fiji. But in course of years pounding was substituted in Tonga, and the Tongans then thought it a disgusting thing that Fijians should chew! Chewing has now been put down by law in Fiji on hygienic grounds, and is only surreptitiously carried on in certain mountainous districts.)

When the powdered fragments shot into the big bowl were considered sufficient the bowl was tilted towards us to exhibit them, and our *matapuli* then gave the order "*Lose.*"[1] Water was then poured in from several *Pupu*,[2] and some old men started, in the high-pitched, quavering notes that are always used for this, the ancient *Yaqona* song or *méké*, the words of which they themselves hardly know the meaning of.

[1] Wring it out or mix it.

[2] Lauan word for hollowed entire coco-nut shells suspended in woven nets of sinnet.